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We have to apologise for the delayed publication of this issue of our journal. The causes for the delay are obvious to those who have had anything to do with paper and printing in these days. We hope that the time is rapidly advancing when our present difficulties would disappear altogether and we would be in a position to go forward with our cherished work. The silver lining is clearly discernible in the trend of events to-day on all sides round.

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It is with pleasure that we announce that a Research Committee entitled 'The Tanjore Maharajah Serfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library Research Committee' has been constituted for the purpose of carrying on research work in this library. We publish elsewhere a report of the proceedings of the meeting at which this committee was formed. It is our pleasant duty to mention in this connection that the main inspiration for this idea was provided by our distinguished Collector and District Magistrate M.S. Sivaraman Esq., I.C.S. who is an Ex-officio Member of our Administrative Committee. It must also be stated that but for the energetic lead he gave us in this matter, our endeavours would not have been attended with the same measure of success. Although this library is well-known to day as a foremost manuscripts library and as a very citadel of Oriental Learning and although distinguished scholars like Dr. Buhler and Dr. Burnell have proclaimed to the world its worth and greatness, still a good deal of work remains to be done before we can say that we deserve the confidence of those who have put this rare treasure of wisdom into our hands. These manuscripts deal with a wide variety of subjects. They open a vast field for research into subjects which

are calculated to add to the sum of human knowledge and experience in various ways. To bring to light these priceless treasures, it is necessary to carry on research work on a vast scale and in an organised manner. With this end in view, the Administrative Committee of this library under the lead of our esteemed Collector constituted the Research Committee which is entrusted with the work of carrying on of this useful work.

The work of this Research Committee will consist in unearthing valuable informations buried in obscure manuscripts on subjects of practical use in which this library abounds; in experimenting into the advantages and efficacy of informations whenever such experiments are necessary as for instance in the case of manuscripts on medicine; and in widely publishing the same so as to be of use to the public. It will also concern itself with research in subjects like History, Art, Music, Dancing etc., besides subjects of an antiquarian character.

Distinguished scientists like Sir C.V. Raman have agreed to work on our committee and guide us in our work whenever necessary. We have no doubt that with their advice and guidance we will be able to achieve results of lasting importance.

Our first efforts to find out the processes of making camphor with the help of manuscripts on this subject promise to be fruitful.

We must not close without conveying our heart-felt thanks to Their Holinesses the Pandarasannadhis of Dharmapuram, Tiruvavaduturai, and Tiruppanandal Mutts for their ready co-operation and munificent donations to enable the Committee to carry on its work. We hope that other institutions and individuals also will come forward with unstinting support.

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THE IDENTIFICATION OF RAGHUNĀTHA, THE PROTÉGÉ OF QUEEN DĪPĀBĀI OF TANJORE AND HIS CONTACT WITH SAINT RĀMADĀS

Between A. D. 1648 and 1682

By

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In my recent papers[1] on *Raghunātha*, a *protégé* of Queen *Dīpābāi* of Tanjore, I have recorded an account of the several Sanskrit and Marathi works of this author on the basis of several MSS in our MSS Libraries. This account has also shown the following particulars about this author:-

(1) He went to Tanjore and composed some works under the patronage of Queen *Dīpābāi* possibly after the death of *Ekojī Bhosale*, her husband, the founder of the Tanjore Kingdom. Ekoji died in A. D. 1683.

(2) He was the pupil of Anantadeva, the author of *Smṛti-Kaustubha* and other works on *Dharmaśāstra*.

(3) He was a *Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin*.

(4) He composed Sanskrit works like the भोजनकुतूहल, प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल etc. as stated by him in his Marathi work नरकवर्णन a Ms. of which has been preserved in the Tanjore Mss Library.

Since my papers were published I had an occasion to read the Introduction to the excellent critical edition of the दमयन्ती-स्वयंवर of रघुनाथपण्डित by Mr. A. K. Priyolkar[2] who discusses the ques-

1 Vide, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. X, Part 2 (Sept. 1941) pp. 133-140 and *Annals* (B.O.R. Institute) Vol XXII pp. 254-263. In these papers I have dealt with the career of Raghunatha between A.D. 1675 and 1710. An edition of Raghunatha's भोजनकुतूहल is included in the 'Books under preparation' for the *Gaikwad Oriental Series* (Vide p. 11 of the List of this Series 1942). Here Raghunatha is assigned to 'the 16th Century A. D.' This chronology is obviously wrong as Raghunatha flourished between A.D. 1640 and 1710 or so. Dr. B. Bhattacharya, the Director of the Oriental Institute writes to me under date 29th June 1942:— 'The date of *Bhojana-Kutuhala* will be changed in the prospectus as suggested by you'.

2 Published by S.D. Satavalekar, Svadhyaya Mandal, Aundh (Dist. Satara), 1935—With a Preface by the Raja of Aundh—numerous coloured plates by Rao Br. M. V. Dhurandhar.

tion of identity of the several name-sakes of the author of the दमयन्ती-स्वयंवर[1]. Among these name-sakes he mentions one 'रघुनाथ गणेश नवहस्त'. This रघुनाथ is different from रघुनाथ the author of the दमयन्ती-स्वयंवर. In a letter[2] written by *Saint Rāmadāsa* to 'रघुनाथभट्टगोसावी' and published by Mr. S. S. Dev of Dhulia we find the close and intimate relations of the Saint with this रघुनाथभट्ट. Mr. Priyolkar states elsewhere[3] that many learned men from the *Mahārāṣṭra* migrated to Tanjore[4] after Shivaji's death in A. D. 1680.

Among these men he mentions रघुनाथ गणेश नवहस्त the author of दर्शपूर्णमासप्रायश्चित्त, प्रयोगरत्नभूषा and some portions of प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल. All these works are represented by Mss. in the library of the B. B. R. A. Society, Bombay[5]. These remarks of Mr. Priyolkar clearly show that he identifies रघुनाथ गणेश नवहस्त, the friend

1 Ibid pp. 25–27

2 Vide Letter No 1 in green ink published in 'श्रीसंप्रदायाची पत्रें' Dhulia, 1915- This letter is in the hand-writing of Saint Ramadasa and a photograph of its beginning is given as a frontispiece to the volume.

3 *Damayanti Svayamvara*, Intro. p. 32

4 In the list of Pandits at Tanjore Court (A.D. 1684-1712) recorded in the Introduction to शब्दरत्नसमन्वय (G. O. Series, Baroda) no reference is made to Raghunatha.

5 These Mss have not been specified by Mr. Priyolkar but I note them below as described by Prof. H.D. Velankar in his *Catalogue* of these Mss. Vol. II (1928)

P. 191 $\frac{\text{Ms No. 610}}{\text{(Ch. I)}}$ प्रयोगरत्नभूषा of रघुनाथ नवहस्त dated Samvat 1847 = A. D. 1791, folios 223

$\frac{\text{Ms No 611}}{\text{(Ch. III)}}$ Do—an exhaustive treatise on the Vedic ritual.

P. 194- Ms No. 614 प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल of रघुनाथ नवहस्त (परिभाषा) folios 24.

Ms No. 615 Do (दर्शपूर्णमास) folios 49. On folio 436 the author refers to his प्रयोगरत्नभूषा ("अस्मत्कृतप्रयोगरत्नभूषायाम्")

P. 195—Ms No 616- Do (आधान) folios 21

Ms No 617- Do (आधान) folios 27 (another copy)

Ms No 618- Do (अग्निहोत्र) folios 46- "appears to be at least 300 *years old*"

P. 196—Ms No 619 Do (अग्निहोत्र) folios 66 (another copy)

Ms No 620 Do (विकृति) folios 12

of *Saint Rāmadāsa* with रघुनाथ the protegé of queen *Dīpābāi* of Tanjore, the subject of my two papers referred to above. Though Mr. Priyolkar published his book in 1935 Sanskrit scholars are not aware of this identity of the two रघुनाथs and it is the purpose of this paper to make this identity more clear by recording evidence in support of it as found in contemporary sources pertaining to two authors of the same name रघुनाथ.

The B.B.R.A.S Ms. No 610 (प्रयोगरत्नभूषा) is very important as it gives the genealogy of its author for four generations in the colophon[1]. This genealogy is as follows:-

नवहस्त (नवहस्त्य) हरिहरभट्ट (C. A. D) 1600.
|
son
रघुनाथ (C. A.D. 1625)
|
son
गणेशभट्ट (C A.D. 1650)
|
son
रघुनाथ (Between A.D. 1640 and 1710)

The surname नवहस्त[2] of our author is disclosed in the following colophon of B B.R.A.S. Ms. No. 619 of प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल—

'इति नवहस्तरघुनाथभट्टविरचितप्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणं समाप्तम्'

We have already stated that अनन्तदेव was the Guru of *Raghunātha*. It appears from the following statements of *Raghunā-*

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[1] This colophon reads:- (P. 193 of *Velankar's Catalogue*) 'इति श्रीमद्धरिहरभट्टात्मजरघुनाथसुतगणेशभट्टतनुज (अनन्त) देवीयरघुनाथोन्नीतकृतौ श्रीप्रयोगरत्नभूषायां पुण्याहवाचनादिपिण्डपितृयज्ञान्तो रत्नगुच्छः ।'

Raghunatha refers to his Guru अनन्तदेव in the following verse:-

'अनन्तलक्ष्मसंलक्ष्य (क्ष्यः) करुणावरुणालयः ।
उल्लसज्ज्ञानकल्लोलो भूयाद्भूयो गुरुर्मयि ॥ २ ॥'

He also refers to his Guru on folios 71, 183, 195 and 216 as pointed out by Prof. Velankar, who rightly observes:- 'Anantadeva lived towards the middle of the 17th century ... Raghunatha, therefore, must have lived a little later.'

[2] Vide Aufrecht *CC II*, 61- 'नवहस्त (Kielhorn नवहस्त्य) pupil of Ananta आधानप्रयोग or प्रयोगरत्नभूषा'

CC II, 9—'आधानप्रयोग or प्रयोगरत्नभूषा' by Navahasta (Navahastya) B 9

CC II, 85- 'बौधायन-आधान' Bhau Daji 68, 104. Commentary by Navahasta

tha that *Viṣṇu* or Ananta was his family deity (कुलदैवत)—
Ms. No. 618 (प्रा. कुतूहल)—

'श्रीमदनन्तःपूर्वेषामस्माकं कुलदैवतम्'

Ms. No. 614 (प्रा. कु.)
'नश्यत्स्वखिलपापौघस्तमनन्तमुपास्महे'

Professor Velankar has already recorded the names of works and authors quoted by *Raghunātha* in his works प्रयोगरत्नभूषा[1] and the प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल[2].

These authorities are sufficient to show the learning of *Raghunātha,* who was obviously under the influence of his Guru अनन्तदेव, the celebrated author of *Smṛti-Kaustubha* and other works on *Dharmaśāstra*. As he composed his Sanskrit works first and then took to the writing of Marathi works under the patronage of queen *Dipābāi* of Tanjore we may easily infer his early contact with Anantadeva which gave him good grounding in the shastric learning, sufficient to elicit a compliment from *Saint Rāmadāsa* to the effect that he was सर्वज्ञ[3] and that there was complete identity of *Rāmadāsa* and *Raghunātha Bhaṭ*[4].

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1 Ms. No 610-Authorities:- अपरार्क, केशव, गृह्यपरिशिष्ट, गोपाल (कारिका) चतुर्विंशतिमत, तन्त्रकृत्, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, देवः, देवरातः धूर्तः, नृसिंह (सिद्धान्त भाष्यवृत्तिकृत्) नृसिंह, (author of some metrical) work) प्रयोगरत्नमाला, प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप, भव, भारद्वाजगृह्य, महार्णव, माधव, मिताक्षरा, यज्ञतन्त्र, रेणुकारिका, लौगाक्षिकारिका, वृत्तिकृत्, वृद्धाः, शाकलकारिका, शुल्व, शूलपाणि, शेषसूत्र, षट्त्रिंशन्मत, सिद्धान्तभाष्य, स्मृत्यर्थसार etc.

2 Ms. No. 616-Authorities:- केशवः, चन्द्रिका, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, प्रजापति, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप, प्रायश्चित्तप्रश्न, भारद्वाजगृह्य, माधव, यज्ञपार्श्व, रामाण्डार, शतद्वयी, शूलपाणि, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृत्यर्थसार
MS. No. 618-आखेनमत, आश्मरथ्यः, कारिकाव्याख्या, केशवः, कौण्डिन्यः, गुरुचरणाः, गोपालः, चन्द्रिका, जैमिनि, तालानिवासी, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, देवयाज्ञिकः, देवरातः, धूर्तः, प्रयोगपारिजातः, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप, भाष्यकृत, मण्डनः यज्ञपार्श्व, रुद्रदत्त, विज्ञानेश्वर, वृत्तिकृद्विवरण, वेङ्कटेशः, शतद्वयीकार, सिद्धान्तभाष्यकृत्, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, होत्रालोक,

3 Vide *Letter No 1* in "श्रीसंप्रदायाची पत्रें" dated Saka 1596 (मार्गशीर्ष पौष) A.D. 1674 from Saint Ramadasa to रघुनाथभट गोसावी—"तुम्ही सर्वज्ञ आहा"

4 Ibid, p. 4-"तुमचे जे काही आहे ते सकल माझेंचि आहे"

The evidence recorded above from the Mss of the *Prāyaścitta-Kutūhala* and *Prayoga-ratna-bhūṣā* about the genealogy, surname and Guru of *Raghunātha* may now be linked up with the evidence found in contemporary documents published by Mr. S. S. Dev of Dhulia in 1915 in Vol.IX of 'रामदास आणि रामदासी' (श्रीसंप्रदायाचीपत्रें). I record below a brief analysis of such of these documents as reveal the personal history of *Raghunātha Gaṇeśa Navahasta*, the author of the *Bhojankutūhala*, *Prayaścitta Kutūhala* etc.

Letter No.	Date	Particulars
1	1674[2]	Letter from *Saint Rāmadāsa* to *Raghunātha* (= R) in *Rāmadāsa's* own hand-writing (*Moḍi Script*). An excellent specimen of *Rāmadāsa's* confidence in *R* and his highest regard for *R*.
28	1679	This letter describes *R* as रघुनाथभट son of गणेशभट, residing at चाफळ. It also refers to him as 'अग्निहोत्री' 'वेदमूर्तिपरमयोग्य' and कुटुम्बवत्सल'
29	1679	This letter describes *R* as 'रघुनाथभट अग्निहोत्री and 'वासिष्ठगोत्री'. It refers to some *inām* land given to *R* at बिळाशी (in the Satara District of the Bombay Presidency)
33	1680	Letter from शम्भु छत्रपति (son of *Shivāji* the Great) to देशाधिकारी and देशलेखक of प्रांत मलकापूर. It refers to *R* as 'रघुनाथ भट वासिष्ठगोत्री' in charge of worship (देवार्चन) of the God at चाफळ and the *inām* enjoyed by him in this connection.

1 The Ujjain Ms of प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल is dated Saka 1689 = A. D. 1767. (Vide p. 19 of *List of Mss in the Ori. Mss Library*, Ujjain, Part II, 1942). On p. 43 of this list a Ms of the 1st परिच्छेद of the भोजनकुतूहल of रघुनाथ is recorded but it bears no date.

2 Letter No 12 dated saka 1595 = A.D. 1673 refers to some inam land of रघुनाथगोसावी of नानेघोल. It is addressed by मोहोबतखान to the officials of प्रांतसीराळा

3 Vide p. 460 of Bombay Gazetteer (Satara) Vol. XIX, 1885. Chafal lies on the Man, a tributary of the Krishna river, 6 miles west of Umbraj.

51	1682	Letter from भास्कर गोसावी to दिवाकर गोसावी. It refers to *R* as 'रघुनाथ भट पंडितराय' and as उपाध्याय of Saint *Rāmadāsa* ('श्रीचे उपाध्ये'). *R* is mentioned as staying with *Rāmadāsa*[1] during the latter's illness.
52	1682	This letter refers to *R* as 'वेदमूर्ति रघुनाथ भट नवहस्त' the 'उपाध्ये' and 'पुराणीक' of Saint *Rāmadāsa*.
55	1683	This letter is a दानपत्र from *R* to his son-in-law 'भैरवभट्ट महाबळेश्वरकर' the son of दिवाकरगोसावी. The letter states that Saint *Rāmadāsa* conferred on *R* some income in connection with his duties as उपाध्याय and पुराणीक at the temple at चाफळ. *R* had a mind to donate this income to भैरवभट at the time of the marriage of भैरवभट with *R*'s daughter. *R* is now proceeding on a pilgrimage (महायात्रा) and hence taking an opportunity to donate his *inām* at बिळाशी (प्रान्तशिराळे) to his son-in-law. *R* is also handing over along with this दानपत्र the previous documents to his son-in-law in respect of this *inām* for safe custody and protection. This दानपत्र contains the signatures of 10 witnesses including five disciples of *Saint Rāmadāsa* viz. 1 कल्याण गोसावी 2 दत्तात्रेय गोसावी 3 विठ्ठल गोसावी 4 भास्कर गोसावी 5 नानाजी गोसावी
56	1683	This letter is addressed by *R* to the entire assembly of devotees of *Saint Rāmadāsa*. In this letter *R* calls himself 'रघुनाथभट नवहस्त'. The letter repeats the contents of the previous दानपत्र by *R* to his son-in-law भैरवभट and bears the same date viz. माघ शु १ शके १६०५, 'रुधिरोद्गारि

1 Vide p 698 of *Madhyayugina Caritrakosa* by Chitrav Shastri Poona, 1937. *Ramadasa* (A.D. 1608- 1682) had a meeting with Shivaji Maharaj in A.D. 1649. Shivaji gave a *Sanad* to *Ramadasa* in A.D. 1678, which gives an account of the *Chafal* Math in brief. The image of the goddess *Bhavani* was installed at Pratapgad at the hands of Ramadasa in A. D. 1661.

		संवत्सर इन्दुवासर'. *R* expresses in the concluding portion of the letter the hope that all the devotees of *Saint Rāmadāsa* would co-operate with his son-in-law in the same manner in which they had co-operated with himself in the successful conduct of his duties now transferred to *R*'s son-in-law Bhairava Bhat.
98	1698	This letter is addressed by राजाराम छत्रपति to the देशाधिकारी of प्रान्त मलकापूर. It orders that the इनाम at बिलासी formerly enjoyed by रघुनाथभट should be continued undisturbed with the family of दिवाकरगोसावी (the father of भैरवभट the son in-law of रघुनाथभट).
109	1700	This letter is addressed by श्रीकराचार्यपण्डितराय to the देशाधिकारी of प्रान्तजावली. It recounts the history of the *inām* transferred by वेदमूर्तिरघुनाथ भट पण्डित उपनाम नवहस्त वसीष्टगोत्री' to बहिरंभट(= बहिरंभट the son of दिवाकरगोसावी.) The letter orders that बहिरंभट and his brother रामचन्द्रभट should enjoy uninterruptedly the above *inām* as they have been carrying out the duties attached to this *inām* : पुराणवृत्ति and उपाध्यपणवृत्ति.. The two brothers are given some land as *inām* at 'सायेगाउ ता। मेढे'. The pilgrimage undertaken by *R* is also referred to in the preamble of this letter (महातीर्थयात्रा A. D 1683)
113	1701	This letter is addressed by श्रीकराचार्यपण्डितराय to the official of the village सायगाव (ता। मेढे) in respect of the *inām* given to रामचन्द्रभट and बहिरंभट referred to in letter No. 109 of A.D. 1700.
137	1702	Letter from शिवछत्रपति to the मुकादम of the village बिलासी (प्रांत सिराळे) ordering that दिवाकरगोसावी should enjoy unmolested the *inām* land

1 Vide p. 690 of मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश – Rajaram was born in A.D. 1670 and died in A.D. 1700

2 Vide p. 872 of म. च. कोश–शिवछत्रपति संभाजी of Kolhapur (A.D. 1693- 1760)

		there as in previous years. (We have already seen that this *inām* was transferred to दिवाकर's son भैरवभट by *R* in A.D. 1683)
138	1702	Letter from शिवछत्रपति to the देशाधिकारी of प्रांतमलकापूर in respect of the *inām* land at बिलासी referred to in letter No. 137. It mentions the pilgrimage of *R* to वाराणसी (Benares) and his transfer of his *inām* to his son-in-law बहिरंभट महाबलेश्वरकर (in A.D. 1683)
139	1703	Letter from सरसुभेदार of प्रांत कहाड with almost identical contents (Vide letter No. 138).
241	1716	Letter from राजा शंभु छत्रपति to the देशाधिकारी प्रांतमलकापूर in respect of the *inām* at बिलासी. It refers to the visit of भैरवभट to the छत्रपति at पनाला Fort (near Kolhapur). It mentions:- 1. वेदमूर्ति रघुनाथभट अग्निहोत्री and his pilgrimage to Benares. 2 Documents pertaining to this *inām* given by सिवाजी राज but subsequently lost.
242	1716	Letter from राजा शंभु छत्रपति to the मुकादम of the village— contents same as those of Letter No. 241.

I shall now record briefly the chronology of *Rāghunātha Gaṇesa Navahastu* and his contact with *Saint Rāmadāsa* as revealed by the data recorded in this paper:-

A.D.
1674 It appears from *Rāmadāsa*'s letter to *Rāghunātha* (= *R*) that *R* was already a middle-aged person in A.D. 1674. This inference

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शंभु छत्रपति, शिवछत्रपति in letters Nos 137, 138 and 139 mean one and the same person viz King Sambhaji of Kolhapur (A.D. 1693- 1760)

is consistent with the epithet पण्डितराय used by भास्करगोसावी in his letter(No. 51) of A.D. 1682. *R* was also reputed to be a man of considerable learning at this time. Most probably he composed his works भोजनकुतूहल and प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल etc. before A.D.1674 or so[1].

1650-1675 Literary activity of अनन्तदेव, the Guru of *R*.

1674 *Shivāji*'s Coronation at Raigad.

1676-77 *Shivāji*'s expedition into the Carnatic.

1676 Ekoji Bhosale, the step-brother of *Shivāji*, captures Tanjore.

1679 *R* was residing at Chafal, the headquarters of *Rāmadāsa*. In this connection I may state that the temple of श्रीरघुपति was built at Chafal in *śaka* 1570[2] = AD 1648 and Shivaji came to Chafal and met *Rāmadāsa* in A.D. 1649. If these facts are reliable we may conclude that *R* was appointed उपाध्याय and पुराणिक at Chafal temple sometime about or after A.D. 1648 and was given the *inām* at बिलाशी subsequently. *R* enjoyed this *inām* upto A.D 1683, when he relinquished his duties at Chafal as also the *inām* in favour of his son-in-law भैरवभट महाबलेश्वरकर.

1 I have come across a rare MS of the भोजनकुतूहल (1st Pariccheda) which is a contemporary copy of the work belonging to Syamji Nayak Punde and bears his endorsement 'शामजी नायकपुण्ड्योपनामकस्य'. Syamji Nayak was the Maratha Subhedar of Karnatak about A D. 1682. The B.B.R.A.S. Ms (No. 618) of प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल is *'at least 300 years old'* according to Prof. H.D. Velankar. If this statement is correct the B.B.R.A.S. Ms No 618 will be another contemporary copy of Raghunatha's work. Both these contemporary Mss lead me to infer that the भोजनकुतूहल and प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल were composed by Raghunatha say between A D. 1650 and 1675.

2 Vide p. 270 of ऐतिहासिक प्रस्तावना By V.K. Rajwade B I.S. Mandal, Poona-1928 —'रामदास स्वामींच्या चरित्रांत लिहिलेलें आहे कीं, स्वामीनीं चाफळास श्रीरघुपतीचें देऊळ शाके १५७० त बांधलें व शिवाजीराजे शाके १५७१ च्या वैशाखशुद्ध ४ स मंदवारीं चाफळास स्वामीस भेटण्यास आले. राजांची व स्वामीची भेट वैशाखशुद्ध ९ स गुरुवारीं झाली,

1680 Death of *Shivāji* the Great. Sambhaji's letter refers to *R* as in charge of the worship of the God at Chafal.

1682 Bhaskar Gosavi refers to *R* as Panditaraya and as Upadhyaya and Puranik of Saint *Rāmadāsa*.
Death of Saint *Rāmadāsa*.
Sambhaji defeated by the Siddis. (Vide 125 of Burgess: Chronology, 1913)

1683 *R* decides to go to Benares on a pilgrimage and donates his inam at Bilasi to his son-in-law Bhairavabhat Mahablesvarkar.
Prince-Muhammad Muazzam's army traverses Konkon. Sambhaji stops it at the Ghats. It retreats to Ahmadnagar.

Sambhaji attacks Chaul but fails to take it.

Francois Martin purchases the village of Pondicheri from the Raja of Vijayapur. (Vide page 126 of Burgess: Chronology)

Death of Ekoji Bhosale, the husband of Queen *Dipābāi*, the patron of *R*.

1684-1712 Rule of Ekoji's son Shahaji at Tanjore. Many Pandits gathered at Tanjore during his reign.
R enjoys *Dīpābāi*'s patronage at Tanjore and composes some Marathi works.

1701 *R* composed his धर्मामृतमहोदधि— which is mentioned in his नरकवर्णन.

1712 Death of Shahaji, son of *Dīpābāi*.

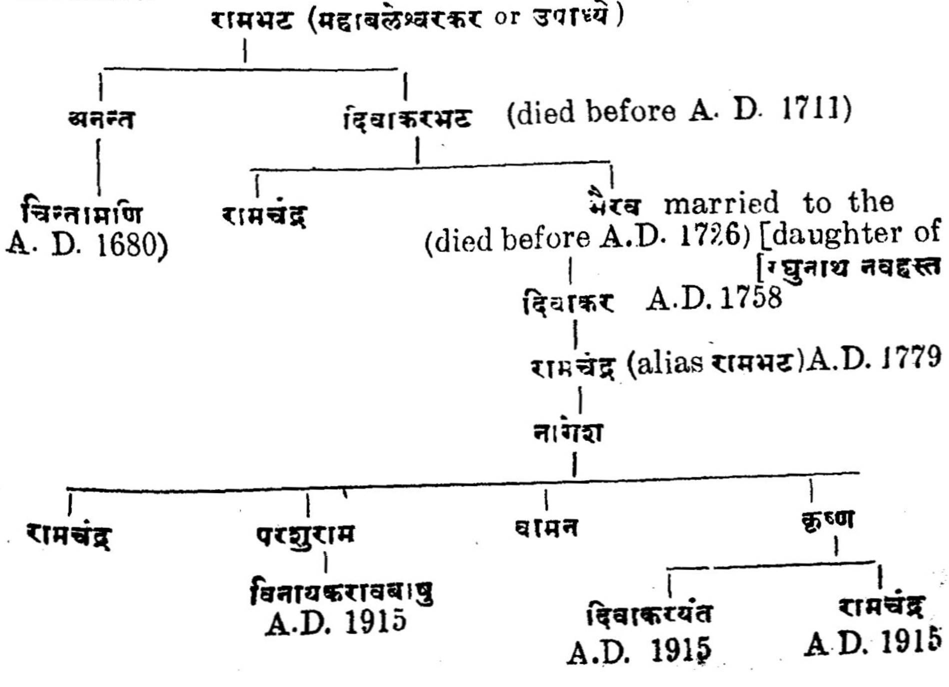
The foregoing Chronology shows us the historical background of Raghunatha's life-history, say from A.D. 1648, when the temple of Raghupati was built at Chafal by Saint *Rāmadāsa* upto A.D. 1712, when Shahaji, the son of *Dīpābāi* died at Tanjore. This life-history is mainly divided into 2 periods: 1. Life-history before *Raghunātha*'s pilgrimage to Benares in A.D.1683 and 2. that between A.D. 1683 and 1712. The first period pertains to *Raghunātha*'s contact with and training under Anantadeva, the great great-grandson of Saint *Ekanātha* of Maharastra as also his contact with Saint *Rāmadāsa* say, between 1648 and 1682 A.D, the year of *Rāmadāsa*'s death. The disturbed political conditions in Maharastra after Shivaji's death in A.D. 1680 as also the demise of Saint *Rāmadāsa* must have led *Raghunātha* to undertake the *Mahāyātrā* and after its completion to migrate to Tanjore, where conditions of life

were more favourable for learned pandits requiring means of livelihood and peaceful atmosphere for their spiritual and academic pursuits. Queen *Dipabāi*, the able administrator of Tanjore during her son's rule (A.D. 1684-1712) was a pious lady who appears to have gathered round her learned pandits of high character like *Raghunātha Gaṇesa* Navahasta, who by his deep learning and personal contact of many years with the premier Saint of Maharastra must have been highly respected by the Queen Mother *Dipābāi* and her three illustrious sons to whom *Raghunātha* refers as follows in his *Narakavarṇana*:-

"तीन पुरुषार्थ तिघे भूप
जयेचे पुत्र कुलदीप।
दीपांबिका यथार्थरूप
नाम म्हणौनि शोभतसे ॥"

We have already noted that *Raghunātha*'s daughter was married to Bhairava Bhat, the son of Divakara Gosavi and that in A.D. 1683 *Raghunātha* relinquished his duties as उपाध्याय and पुराणिक at Chafal Math in favour of his son-in-law Bhairava Bhat. The original surname of Bhairava Bhat's family was महाबलेश्वरकर but since he became the उपाध्याय at Chafal Math the original surname was changed and at present the descendants of Bhairava Bhat are called by the surname उपाध्ये. The genealogy of this family has been recorded by Mr. S. S. Dev but he nowhere gives us the genealogy[1] of *Raghunā-*

1 Vide p. 33 to Prastavana to 'श्रीसमर्थसंप्रदायाचीं कागदपत्रें.' This genealogy is as follows:-



tha Navahasta, the author of *Bhojan-Kutūhala* and other works. Whether *Raghunātha* had any male issue is doubtful but it is possible to investigate the genealogy of his family. His surname was नवहस्त which is equal to नवाथे or नवाठ्ये a surname current among the Karhada Brahmins of Maharastra at present. I understand that there is a family of Navathes (Karhada Brahmins) at Dhavadshi near Satara. The gotra of this family is also वसिष्ठ which is identical with that of *Raghunātha* Navahasta mentioned many times in contemporary documents. If *Raghunātha* Navahasta was a Karhada Brahmin, the marriage of his daughter with Bhairava Bhat Mahabalesvarkar, who is obviously a Desastha Brahmin would provide us an early specimen of intercaste marriages between the Karhada and Desastha Brahmins in the 17th century. It is therefore, necessary to see if we can trace the genealogy of *Raghunātha* Navahasta among the extant Navathe families in the different parts of Maharastra.

THE ROLE OF STOBHAS IN SĀMAN CHANT

BY

M. L. SITARAMAN, M. Sc.

A. H. F. Strangways[14] and M. S. Ramaswamy Iyer[12] (1935) seem to have opined that the Stobhas are meaningless repetitions. In our view the Stobhas are to be looked upon as carefully preserved relics of musical style of a remote past and must have served the purpose of basic melody at a time when musical instruments as the *Yāḻ* and the *Vīna* still remained to be discovered and used.

Our experimental study of the *Sāman* chant (1942) has shown that the earliest theories of *Rk Prātisākhya* (fourth century B. C.), *Nārada* Siksha (*Nārada* I second century B. C.) and *Taittriyaprātisākhya* (fourth century A. D) have given us glimpses only and not a comprehensive picture of the traditional chant. Owing to confusion between the seven notes of the chant, which have been shown by us[2] to have a maximum musical interval of 14/9, with the seven notes (*saptaka*) of the secular scale, later theories about religious music had gone astray, especially after *Nārada* I. However the tradition of *Sāmagahs* (*Sāman* chanters) remained unaffected by the complications in the theory. Among the learned brahmins there seems to have always been two distinct schools *viz.* one which carried on the traditional practice of *Sāma* Veda and fostered the ancient heritage without any mutilation or over-growth and another literary school, which ignoring a healthy scientific study, easily involved itself in speculations. It is interesting to note that according to M. S. Ramaswamy Iyer[12a] Manu the ancient Indian lawgiver wrote in his Smriti that "*the voice of Sāma Veda is impure*", and Bloomfield[3] though mainly concerned with the religion of the Vedas is said to have written impromptu, that "*the Sāma Veda represented*

little more than the employment of popular music and other quasi-musical noises."

It is well-known that the *Sāman* chants are musical developments of portions from the *Rig* Veda and consequently included a lot of unmeaning words and phrases. From careful audition and faithful reproduction of the melody with an improvised siren we have found that the *Ṛks* are sung using all the seven notes characteristic of the chant, with the same modulations and pitch values, in Mysore, Tanjore, Madura and Tinnevelly. Only slight differences in the times of intonation of the notes (tempo) could be noticed between the Mysore school and the other schools.

The Stobhas, however, showed the greatest variations. Whereas the Tanjore school uses a variety of melodic stobhas, the Mysore school uses, for example, in Purushasuktam a stereotyped stobha which is monotonous in every sense of the word. The Mysore stobha is used in only one instance *viz.*, in the eighth *Sāman* where each of the four *Ṛks* is preceded and succeeded by the stobha (vide Fig. 1).

PURUSHASUKTAM (8th *Sāman*)

Fig: 1. Stobha at the beginning *The body of the ṚK.* *Stobha*

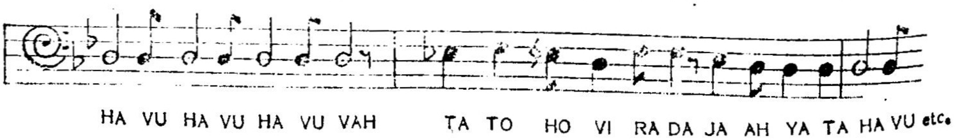
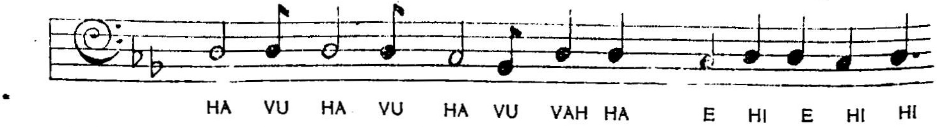
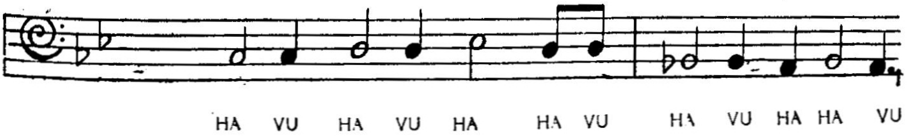


Fig: 2. Stobha at the end *Sampradaranam*



Let us consider two other types of stobhas. The beginning stobha in the second, seventh and ninth *Sāmans* makes use of the three notes well known to Yajur vedic chant *viz.* B (flat) or Kaisiki *Nishāda*; C or shadja and D (flat) or Suddha Rishaba (Fig. 3). It is to be noted that the stobha at the beginning of the *Sāman* and at its end are not melodically identical (Figs. 1 & 2).

Fig. 8 BEGINNING STOBHA 2nd, 7th, 3rd AND 9th SĀMAN

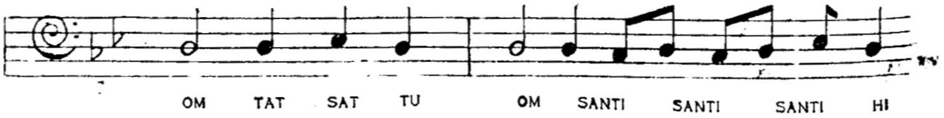


Indian Symbols	*Ni (flat)*	*Sa*	*Ri (flat)*	*Dha (flat)*	*Pa*
European symbols	*B (flat)*	*C*	*D (flat)*	*A (flat)*	*G*
Measured Frequencies	*126*	*144*	*156 (calculated)*	*117*	*108*

Since *Sama* Veda is a musical development of *Rig* Veda, stobhas become essential features of the earliest music. Though the words *Havu, ha, ah, ē, hi, hai* etc. do not have any literary meaning they cannot be considered, for that reason, as unimportant or without musical significance.

In our opinion the different stobhas must have served the dual purpose of the key and key notes to be used in a particular *Sāman*. According to Dr. *P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri*[15], a *Sāma* vedin, the Mysore school should have been influenced by R. Krishnaswamy Srouti's[5] books (1885—1889) Arunam, Prakriti, Rahasyam etc. It has been pointed out[3] that Krishnaswamy Srouti an expert *Samagah*, attempted to combine the theories of *Sāyanacharya*, with the traditional practice of *Sāma* Veda with not a good measure of success. Also the influence of Pandit Seshagiri Sastri,[13] who suggested *Abhōgi* as the melody of *Sāma* Veda, on the recent practice of the chant in Mysore, cannot be overlooked. By confining the stobhas to a limited range of a mono-tone or at best two notes, the Mysore school may have effected an improvement in the chant *viz.* just indicating the register to be used. When the drone can be maintained by a *tambura, vīna* or other musical instrument, stobhas might have been considered as unnecessary relics of a past age. However from a comparative study of the traditions of Yajur and *Sāman* chant, we find that for a very long time Yajur vedins have been usually indicating the key and their three key notes at the beginning and at the end of their chants, as follows:-

Fig. 4



European Symbols	*C*	*D (flat)*	*B (flat)*
Indian Symbols	*S a*	*Ri (flat)*	*Ni (flat)*
Frequencies	*144*	*156*	*126*

Whereas 'OM' or the shadja note is sufficient to indicate the key note and the bass register for the relatively simple Yajur and Atharva vedic melodies, a full key of notes must have been necessary to help the earliest *Sāmagahs* in their elaborate chant.

According to P.S. Sundaram Iyer[16] and from Doctor T. M. P. Mahadevan's[6] reference to orchestra in Chhandogya Upanishad, we learn that in the Chhand period [1000-800 B. C. Atiya Begum[1] and 600 B. C. H. A. Popley[10]] instruments like the modern *vina* and *tambura* must have been used at least to maintain the drone, called Udgitha note of the *Udgātha* priests. Earlier than the period of the Upanishads i-e, before the *vīnas, yāḷs* and flutes were discovered, stobhas must have been essential to a concert of *Sāmaghas* for reproducing the melody in perfect unison. There is reason for us to think that the persistence of the unmeaning stobhas up to the present day is an indication that musical accompaniments even with our mobile instruments, occupied only a secondary place to vocal music and the text of the Vedas. Probably, *Sāma gāna* served to infuse religious ideals of the Veda, through the appealing medium of its exquisite music, to an ancient civilised world, and to people who could appreciate its music and understand its language.

When Manu[12a] wrote that the "*Voice of Sāma Veda is impure*", he must probably have been referring to the language of the Veda which contains a lot of extraneous, musical phrases and stobhas. This is evidence enough for us to infer that contemporaneous music (vocal and instrumental) must have been highly developed and that the tradition of the chant was much older and well established

about Manu's time. When it is also known that flutes, *yals* (earliest kinds of harp with strings of different thicknesses and lengths) and *vinas* (fretted stringed instruments) of the *Chhand* period were earlier than the Pythagorean era (510 B C), a pertinent question might be asked as to why the science of acoustics and the laws of string and wind instruments showed little progress and lay dormant for an unconscionably long period till the time of Pandits Somanatha (1526) and Ahobala (1627) in India and of Mersenne (1638) in Europe.

So long as the tones, semitones and microtones (srutis) of religious and secular music could be reproduced with fidelity by the tuned strings of the *yals* or from a few fretted strings as in the *vina*, there could have been little stimulus to pursue the scientific aspect of the elegant art from the modern stand point of acoustics i-e, by resorting to precise measurements of string lengths etc. Even at present the Vainika places frets in the *vina* by auditory measurements rather than by measurements with a scale. We have found by exact measurements of two college *vinas* that the frets corresponding to *Sankarābarana* mela, have been correctly placed and the other frets only approximately placed. This does not, however, preclude the Vainika from producing faithfully, the different geometric patterns of melas as *Hanumattōdi*, Bhavapriya, Natabhairavi and Shanmugapriya. The notes corresponding to the melas other than *Sānkarābarana* are produced by resorting to a time honoured *gamaka* known as *vali* (வலி). It is well known that what we call the pitch value or prime frequency of a definite length of tensed string can be increased and a note sharpened easily through a small interval of 16/15 or 13/12, 9/8 etc. by further tensing the wire in the characteristic way of Vainikas. It is thus that we can explain the ambiguity which characterised the otherwise brilliant experimental work of Bharata[18], (5th century A D) and *Sarangadeva*[18] (early 13th century) both of whom sought to explain our fundamental 22 sruti scale. Our scientific musicians seem to have placed sole reliance upon auditions and auditory measurements. According to

H.A. Popley (1921), M.S. Ramaswamy Iyer (1935) and Vijayadevji, the present Maharana of Dharampur (1939), Ahobala Pandit[18a] (1627) was the first to express srutis in terms of the lengths of a tensed wire. Calculation of frequencies from Ahobala's data for a *Sankarābarana* raga of his period by Vijayadevji[18c] has given values which are accurate and much better than the absolute pitch values of Helmholtz, Durham, Handel and Smart[4a] for mean tone intonation. Ahobala Pandit seems to have achieved an accuracy with his *vina* in the 17th century which Dye in recent years has made possible in the Teddington laboratory with his standard manganin wire.

A brief study of the development of acoustics in Europe and its relation to music will not be out of place. We owe our present knowledge of the science of musical sounds to the fundamental work of G. S. Ohm, Savart, T. Young, Helmholtz, Tyndal, Raleigh, Sir C V. Raman[11] and others. The simple but profound researches of Helmholtz with his demonstration of prime and overtones, extended the studies of Pandits Somanatha, Ahobala and of Mersenne. The application of the new facts of acoustics, to all sorts of musical notes and the recognition of simple numerical relationships between the prime frequencies of notes in a melody or harmony were relatively tardy, owing to the lack of hearty co-operation between acousticians who relied more upon ocular measurements and musicians who were content with audition and auditory measurements. In Europe the approach to an understanding of the art of music was chiefly through the science of sounds. Music is still considered as an art and the European natural and chromatic scales (relative scales) as the only possible musical scales.

That in India, on the other hand, music was scientifically developed long ago, does not seem to have been recognised by the early acousticians, though in the twentieth century sympathetic and appreciative European scholars and musicians as Captain Day (1891), Strangways, Popley and others have focussed the attention of the scientific world to the fact. For example Helmholtz[4b] Ludwig Rien-

mann and Strangways[14] opined that many Indian flutes were approximate musical instruments probably in the belief that each tune hole corresponded to one note and not more. It is well known that the aesthetic genius of Indian flutists can produce more than an octave of melodic notes (1½ octaves) using the common flute with seven holes. A remarkable physicist Sir W.H. Bragg[19] (1920) and others have pointed out with truth that the frequency of a note produced from a stop of wind instruments is not a constant quantity but varies owing to many factors and also with wind pressure. The characteristic wail, of the now familiar Siren, during the ascent to and descent from its steady, powerful note, is an illustration of Sir W. H. Bragg's profound view This can also be simulated and demonstrated with the studded back-tyre of a bicycle placed on its stand, by touching the tyre with a post card when the back wheel is made to rotate at varying speeds.

If any further demonstrable proof were required for the healthy and profound views of E. Clements (1913), Strangways, Popley, P. S. Sundaram Iyer (1942) and others that the essential features of Indian music have been traditionally preserved the following stobhas of *Sāman chant*, taken from three different chapters of *Sāma Veda* and checked carefully on our improvised siren, offer a striking illustration.

Fig: 5. ASIRVATHAM.

Stobha

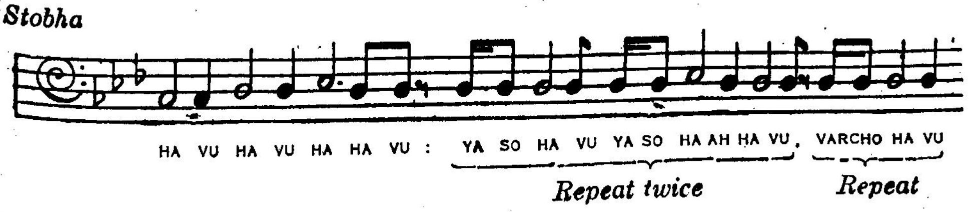


Fig: 6.

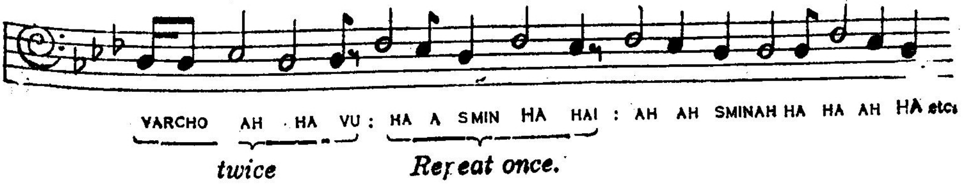


Fig: 7. **BRIHAT SĀMAN**

Stobha

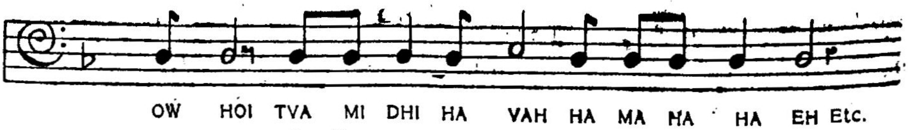
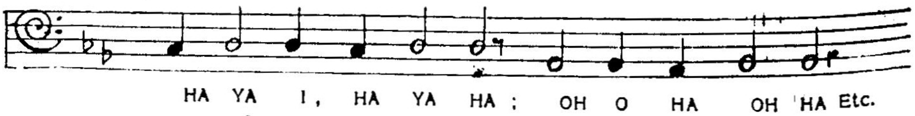


Fig: 8. MĀHA VAISVĀMITRAM.

Stobha



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3. Bloomfield, 'Religion of the Veda' p. 39 according to M. S Ramaswamy Iyer 'Sama Gana' p. 2.

4. Helmholtz, 'Sensations of Tone' translated by A J. Ellis (1912). a. p. 434, b. 205 d.

5. Krishnaswamy Srouti, R. (later 19th century) a Samagah and author of the following works on Sama Veda:- Arunam, Prakriti. Rahasyam etc. (1885-39). The father of Krishnaswamy Srouti stayed in Mysore for a time.

6. Mahadevan, T. M. P., Ph. D., "The Upanishads" Selctions, G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras, March, 1940, p. 171.

7. Maheswari Devi, N., "Veena Tutor", 1935, vide p. 1 for picture of Yal (an ancient harp-like, proto-Indian musical instrument for which there are references in ancient Tamil literature like Tolkappiyam, Silappadikaram etc.) Opposite to p. 1 is a colour photograph of a yal constructed for Maheswari Devi by Saraswathi Veena Factory, Trivandrum.

8. Manu, the ancient Indian lawgiver (date unknown).

9. Narada I (author of "Narada Siksha" 2nd century B. C. according to M. S. Ramaswamy Iyer).

10. Popley, H. A., "The Music of India". 1921, Chap II & III.

11. Raman, C. V, Sir, F. R. S., N. L, "Early researches on acoustics". bulletins to the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Calcutta 1918.

12. Ramaswamy Iyer. M. S. "Sama Gana", 1935, Journal of the Music Academy, Madras, Vol. V, Nos. 1—4, a. p. 2 ; b. also Pandit Somanatha's Rag Vibhoda', translation with introduction, 1935.

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14. Strangways, A. H. F. The Music of Hindostan', Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1914). Chapter on Saman chant.

15. Subrahmanya Sastri, P. S., M. A. Ph. D. Professor of Samskrit., Annamalai University.

16. Sundaram Iyer, P. S., Retired Educationist, a scholar in Samskrit and music—private discussion.

17. Taittriyaprati Sakhya '(4th century A. D.) a work also dealing with early Indian Music (Samskrit).

18. Vijayadevji the Maharana of Dharampur, "Sangit Bhava"; D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay, 1939. a.pp. 49 and 57 Chap. IV. b, p. 32. c. p 66a.

19. Bragg, W. H., Sir, F. R. S. "World of Sound" (1920), especially second lecture "Sound in Music."

THE SABDALINGĀRTHACANDRIKĀ OF SUJANA AND ITS COMMENTARIES, UNIQUE WORKS

BY

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A rare work in the Adyar Library is the *Sabdalingārtha-candrikā* of Sujana, a dictionary of homonyms. It is contained in an old Telugu Ms. with the shelf-number 20. K.41. There is a modern paper transcript also in the Library made from this Ms. This latter is numbered 54. A. 38 In the Ms. are also contained a commentary on the work, called *Dṛṣṭāntasiddāñjana* by the author's grandson *Cakora-bhaṭṭā-cārya*. The work is noticed here not because of any intrinsic worth ; for intrinsic worth it has none. What interest us are the commentaries which abound in references. An amusing feature of these is that these contain statements which are absolutely unreliable. For instance Kallola says that *Sriharsha*, the author of *Naiṣhada* was the disciple of his grandfather while it is obvious to us that he, Kallola was a late author ! There is no reference to the work or the commentaries anywhere in the literature known to us. Both the commentaries contain references to a large number of works and authors, most of which are not at all known to us ; and whether these ever existed or not is the problem now before us. References here are to the pages of the transcript Kallola's commentary ends at p.262. References to pages after this are to *Chakorā's* commentary.

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As already observed, most of these works and authors are such as we have hitherto never heard of! Personally I believe that the commentators are bluffing ; and if it is not proved to the contrary by anyone, here are works which are unique– the only two known so far– which will provide immense amusement to Sanskrit scholars.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PUBLIC MEETING

Held on 22nd December, 1942.

A public meeting of the leading citizens and scholars of Tanjore was convened by M.S. Sivaraman Esq., I. C. S., District Collector and Ex-officio Member of the Administrative Committee of the library at 5-15 P.M. on 22nd December 1942 at the library premises for constituting a Research Committee.

Proposed by Sri. S. Gopalan, B.A., B.L., and seconded by Sri. R. Rangaswami Ayyangar B.A., B. L., the District Collector M.S. Sivaraman, Esq., I.C.S., was voted to the chair.

The President in his opening speech dwelt upon the greatness of the Library as a rich manuscript library and the treasures of knowledge contained in these manuscripts. He said that for the spread of knowledge contained in these manuscripts it was essential to constitute a research committee consisting of scholars and rich men, scholars to chalk out various avenues of research and rich men to contribute liberally to carry on research work. He appealed to the audience in general, and to the Heads of Mutts in particular to contribute financially to this useful work.

The Hony. Secretary of the library Sri. S. Gopalan, B. A., B.L., then spoke on the history of the library. He traced the beginnings of the library to the time of Telugu Nayak kings who were great patrons of learning. He described how the advancement of learning went on uninterrupted in spite of the change of dynasties and rulers, how the light of knowledge was kept burning in the time of the enlightened Maratta rulers and how the valuable collections of Books and Mss. were made by Maharajah Serfoji on all branches of human knowledge. He then dwelt upon the publication of the Descriptive Catalogues of Mss. in various languages, the starting of the Journal of this library and added that more useful work by way of research remained to be done and had been kept in abeyance for want of funds. He thanked the District Collector for the interest he evinced in this library and for his valuable

suggestions to carry out research work.

Supplementary speeches by Sri. R. Rangaswami Ayyangar, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Tanjore, Sri. B.N. Krishnamurti Sarma M.A., Principal of the Rajah's College of Sanskrit and Tamil studies, Tiruvadi, Sri. Vallaivarana Mudaliar of Karanthai Tamil Sangam, Pandit Sri. N. Vaidyanatha Sastri of Tiruvadi College, and Sri. R. Rangaswami Sastri of Kumbakonam were made about the vast knowledge contained in the library and on the need for carrying out research work.

Then twelve gentlemen including representatives from four Mutts were chosen as members of the Research Committee.

The meeting terminated with the concluding remarks from the chair.